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THE HITTITES

MESSERSCHMIDT

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THE ANCIENT EAST

No. VI

THE HITTITES

BY

DR. L. MESSERSCHMIDT

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THE HITTITES

BY

DR. L. MESSERSCHMIDT

TRANSLATED BY J. HUTCHISON

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THE HITTITES

In the history of the Ancient East, besides the two great centres of civilisation Egypt and Babylonia, we find in the north, especially in Asia Minor, a third to which the name "Hittite" is usually given. Hitherto comparatively little has been ascertained of the history of this race, as thorough excavation has been attempted in one or two localities only, and the Hittite inscriptions still withhold their secrets from us. Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions give only such information as might be expected from accounts of campaigns and battles, and the allusions of the Old Testament,* through

* The "land of the Hittites" is described in Joshua i. 4 as lying between the Lebanon and the Euphrates, and it was probably to the same northern region that the traitor fled who surrendered Bethel to the tribe of Joseph (Judges i. 26). In the reign of Solomon we find Jewish merchants importing Egyptian horses not only for their own king but "for all the kings of the Hittites also" (1 Kings x. 28-29, R.V.). At a later date these kings appear side by side with those of Egypt as possible allies of Israel against Syria. During the siege of Samaria the Syrian host was seized with panic, and fled, saying: "Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians to come

which in the main the term "Hittite" has become generally known, are too remote in time and place from the events recorded as well as too indefinite in purport to supply useful material. Our knowledge of this subject is therefore still very fragmentary, yet by carefully combining all the records at our disposal it is possible to construct an account of the evolution of this particular form of civilisation that will hang together in some measure.

Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, ranging in date from about 1500 to 700 B.C., tell of hostilities with many different tribes in north Syria and Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Cappadocia and Armenia. From all that we can learn of them, these tribes were neither Semites nor Indo-Germans, but were akin to each other, and formed part of one great homogeneous group or race. Names of gods and personal names that have been handed down show a similarity in formation which testifies to this

upon us" (2 Kings vii. 6). There are indications also of the presence of Hittites in the south of Palestine. From "Ephron the Hittite" Abraham bought the cave of the field of Machpelah near Hebron for a family burial-place (Gen. xxii.), and a generation later Esau took to himself two wives "of the daughters of Heth" (Gen. xxvi. 34–35). David's ill-fated officer "Uriah the Hittite" may well have been a descendant of this southern stock, for David reigned at Hebron for seven years before he became king over the whole country. In Ezekiel xvi. 3, "Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother an Hittite," we may perhaps see an allusion to some tradition regarding the founding of Jerusalem.—TRANSLATOR.

elationship, while further evidence of it may be noted in the extreme improbability that tribes of diverse races should have been migrating almost at the same time, to some extent promiscuously, in the same general direction and towards the same districts. On the other hand it is clear from certain facts, and indeed should be self-evident, that the separate tribes, notwithstanding their general relationship, were distinguished from each other by peculiarities of dialect and culture. A similar condition is well known to have prevailed among the Semites and Indo-Germans also.

One of these tribes, known to us as the Kheta in Egyptian and the Khatti in Assyrian inscriptions, must be mentioned at the outset. Its special importance arises from the fact that the name properly belonging to this one tribe has been transferred in the form "Hittite" to the whole race—the proper designation of which is still unknown to us. In each individual instance, therefore, it is important to ascertain whether the term is used to indicate the race, or is applied in its more restricted sense to the tribe only.

The existence of an individual and independent civilisation side by side with that of Babylonia and Egypt has been demonstrated during the last few decades by the discovery in the frontier lands where Egyptians and Assyrians came into contact with Hittite tribes of a series of remarkable monu-

ments, both with and without inscriptions. The very localities of the discoveries, and much more the correspondence in the details of the representations with what we gather from Egyptian records, indicate a Hittite origin for the monuments. Throughout Asia Minor, as far as Smyrna on the Ægean coast, similar monuments have been found, frequently in the east, more scantily in the west. This circumstance combines with the information gained from Assyrian inscriptions to lead us to the conclusion that Asia Minor was the original seat of the "Hittites" and their civilisation, whence they poured forth to the south and south-east in ever renewed hordes. The cradle of the race from which they had immigrated to Asia Minor is still a matter of uncertainty, but must probably be sought in the west.

The earliest development of Hittite culture on the soil of Asia Minor may probably be dated about the third millennium, when Syria and Mesopotamia were under Babylonian rule. Towards 2000 B.C., however, Hittite tribes must have invaded and conquered Syria and Mesopotamia, for when our records begin (in the fifteenth century B.C. with the Tell el Amarna letters) peoples of Hittite race had already long been in possession of these lands.

These first Hittites brought within our horizon by the letters named above are the Mitani ("Ancient East," II. p. 58). Whether they were actually the

first to enter Syria, or whether, as is more probable, others of the race had preceded them, are questions to which our records as yet give no certain answer. The kingdom of Mitani under its king Tushratta comes on the scene at once as a great power, equal in rank to Babylonia and Egypt, and including in its dominions Melitene with the lands to the south-east, north Syria and the north of Mesopotamia with Nineve—later the capital of Assyria. The empire was, however, already decadent. At an earlier date, probably in the sixteenth century B.C., its power must have extended as far south as the Lebanon, for in Dunip—Heliopolis—Baalbec—the language of Mitani was spoken, and the unnamed power against which Thutmosis I. (about 1500 B C.), and Thutmosis III. fought in Naharina was probably the Mitani kingdom. Soon after the Tell el Amarna period, in the fourteenth century, the rising power of Assyria overthrew the Mitani and gained possession of Mesopotamia.

Whilst the Mitani must have migrated southwards in the seventeenth or sixteenth century, the Khatti (*i.e.*, the single tribe of Hittites) came in the fifteenth century from their home in Cappadocia, and pressed on towards the south in irresistible hordes. In the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries the weakness of Egypt, and for a time also of Assyria, enabled them to conquer Syria as far as Hermon. In the thirteenth century fresh

energy returned to Egypt under Ramses II., and the struggle with the Hittites, then at the height of their power, was renewed. Many battles were fought, one of which, the attack on Kadesh on the Orontes, was celebrated in an Egyptian poem extravagantly eulogising the exploits of the king. The strife was ended by a treaty of peace * between Ramses II. and Khetasar, king of the Hittites—the most ancient example known of an international treaty. The Hittite original was written on a tablet of silver, but only the Egyptian translation has been preserved—one copy on the south wall of the pillared hall in the temple of Karnak, the other on a wall of the Ramesseum. In it the common frontiers are determined, and as north Phœnicia and Syria are assigned to the Khatti, they by no means figure as an entirely defeated foe. The contents of this document are so interesting that an almost complete translation is here appended: †

In the year 21 on the 21st day of the month Tobe under the majesty of Ramses II., king of Upper and Lower Egypt, (etc.). . . . This day behold his majesty was at the city "the House of Ramses"

* Rather of alliance as interpreted by Max Müller, see below.—TRANSLATOR.

† The translation by Herr Moeller of Berlin has been revised for the English edition by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, with the help of Prof. W. Max Müller's revised text and commentary ("Der Bündnis-vertrag Ramses II. und des Chetiterkönigs," Berlin, 1902).

doing the good pleasure of his father Amon-Ra, (etc.) . . . there came (two Egyptian ambassadors with three (?) Hittite ambassadors bearing a tablet) * which Khetasar the great prince of Kheta had sent to Pharaoh to pray for grace from his majesty the king . . . Ramses II. . . .

Copy of the silver tablet which Khetasar the great prince of Kheta sent to Pharaoh by his ambassador Tarteseb and his ambassador Rames to beg favour before the majesty of King Ramses II. . . .

The treaty which the great prince of Kheta, Khetasar, the mighty, the son of Marsar, the great prince of Kheta, the mighty, the son's son of Saparer, the great prince of Kheta, the mighty, drew up on a silver tablet for Ramses II. the great ruler of Egypt, the mighty,† (etc.)—the good treaty of peace and alliance which (establishes good) peace and (good friendship between them) for ever.

Formerly, from time immemorial, the relations between the great ruler of Egypt and the great prince of Kheta were such that the god permitted no hostility to arise between them, (and this was) on the basis of a (former) treaty.

* The names and titles of the ambassadors are much mutilated.

† This title is certainly not an Egyptian convention, neither as far as can be ascertained from the little as yet interpreted of the Hittite inscriptions is it Hittite. Its resemblance to the mode of address used in Assyrian documents justifies the hypothesis that the original was drawn up in the Babylonian-Assyrian language, which therefore was probably still, as at the Tell el Amarna period, the medium of international diplomacy in the East.—("Ancient East," II.)

But in the time of Mutnara, the great prince of Khatti, my brother, he fought with [Ramses II.] the great ruler of Egypt. But thereafter, from this day forward, Khetasar etc. makes a treaty for establishing the relationship that the god Ra and the god Sutekh have made for the land of Egypt and the land of Kheta, that no enmity shall arise between them for ever. Lo, Khetasar etc. has entered into agreement with Ramses II. etc. from this day forth that there may subsist between us good peace and good alliance for ever. He is allied with me, he is at peace with me, and I am allied with him and am at peace with him for evermore.

Now whereas Mutnara etc. my brother hastened (?) unto his fate, and Khetasar sits upon the throne of his father as great prince of Kheta, behold, I with Ramses II. and he with me are in our peace and our alliance and they are better than the peace and alliance that were aforetime on earth ; behold I the great prince of Kheta and Ramses II. are in good peace and good alliance, and the children's children of the great prince of Kheta shall (?) make alliance and peace with the children's children of Ramses II., so that our relationship of alliance shall be our policy (?), Egypt and the land of Kheta (being ?) at peace and in alliance like us for evermore ; no enmity shall arise between them for ever. The great prince of Kheta shall never invade the land of Egypt to plunder it (§1, *a*), and Ramses II. the great ruler of Egypt shall never invade the land of Kheta to plunder it.

The reciprocal (?) treaty which existed in the time of Saparer the great prince of Kheta, and also the

reciprocal (?) treaty which was in the time of Mutnara, the great prince of Kheta my father, by it I hold, and behold, Ramses II. holds to it, we two together from this day forth hold to it, and we are in mutual (?) agreement.

(§ 2) If another should come as an enemy into the lands of Ramses II., and he should send to the great prince of Kheta saying: "Come to my help against him," then shall the great prince of Kheta [go to his help] and smite his enemies. But if the great prince of Kheta desire not to march forth (in person) then shall he send forth his footmen and his horsemen that they may smite the enemy.

(§ 3) Or if Ramses II. be wroth with foreign subjects (?) who have acted hostilely (?) to him and march forth to smite them, then shall the great prince of Kheta act (in agreement) with the great lord of Egypt.

(§ 2, *a*) If another should come as an enemy into the land of the great prince of Kheta . . . (From the remains it may be gathered that this and the next section (§ 3, *a*), corresponded approximately, *mutatis mutandis*, to the two preceding.)

(The next section (§ 4) is much mutilated. It is however certain that *mutatis mutandis* it ran like § 4, *a*).

(§ 5) (If) servants (escape), be it one or two unknown men, and come into the land of Kheta to make themselves servants of another, then shall the prince of Kheta not receive them into his land but shall deliver them up to Ramses II.

(§ 4, *a*) If a great man flee from the land of Kheta and come to Ramses II., whether he be a citizen or a

dweller in the country, or if any inhabitants of the land of Kheta [have fled and] come to Ramses II., then shall Ramses II. not receive them, but shall deliver them up to the great prince of Kheta and shall not suffer them to dwell (in Egypt).

(§ 5, *a*) (If one or two unknown men escape and come to the land of Egypt to be servants to others, etc. *mutatis mutandis* like section 5.)

These words (of the treaty made by) the great prince of Kheta with Ramses II. the great ruler (of Egypt), written on this silver tablet, these words are witnessed by a thousand gods and a thousand goddesses of the land of Kheta, together with a thousand gods and a thousand goddesses of the land of Egypt ; to these words a (witness) is Ra, the lord of heaven, etc. (there follows a long list of Hittite divinities and a summary mention of the Egyptian Pantheon.)

Whosoever shall not observe the words that are written on this silver tablet for the land of Kheta and the land of Egypt, the thousand gods of the land of Kheta and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall destroy his house, his land and his servants. But whosoever shall observe the words that are written on this silver tablet, whether he be of the Hittites or the Egyptians, if he do not forget them the thousand gods of the land of Kheta and the thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall give life and health unto him and to his house (?) as well as to his land and to his servants.

(By way of appendix follow the terms to be observed with regard to soldiers who in the course of the war

had deserted from either camp to that of the enemy.*) If a man flee from Egypt, or two or three, and betake themselves to the great prince of Kheta, then shall the great prince of Kheta seize them and cause them to be delivered up to Ramses II. But with respect to him who is delivered up to Ramses II., his crime shall not be set against him, nor shall his house, his wives and his children be destroyed (he shall not be slain ?), neither shall he be injured in his eyes, his ears, his mouth, or his feet, nor shall any [crime be set] against him.

Likewise if men escape from the land of Kheta, etc., *mutatis mutandis* like the above.

In this alliance and extradition treaty we have the renewal of an earlier agreement, one of the consenting parties to which was Saparer, the grandfather of King Khetasar.

In the following period the empire of the Khatti rapidly declined, partly through the inrush of a wave of Aramaean immigration, partly through the advance from the north and north-west of fresh Hittite tribes, with which Tiglath Pileser I. came into collision as early as 1100 B.C. For a few centuries the Khatti state in Kharkhemish (Jerabis) on the Euphrates, to the west of Karrhae, still maintained an appearance of independence by means of prompt payment of tribute to the reigning suzerain,

* According to Max Müller this section concerns the right of asylum for fugitives.

but in 717 it also sank to the rank of an Assyrian province.

In the fifteenth century we encounter in the west of Asia Minor another branch of the Hittite peoples — the Lukki, whose pirate-ships, according to the Tell el Amarna letters, haunted the seas between the southern coast of the peninsula and the island of Cyprus. From them the districts of Lycia and Lycaonia have derived their names, and it may be assumed that they occupied all the west of Asia Minor.

A few centuries later new Hittite tribes pressed forward and took advantage of a period of weakness in Assyria to settle in northern Mesopotamia on the Euphrates; these were the Kummukh who gave their name to the later province of Kommagene. Tiglath Pileser (see above) encountered them on the Euphrates about 1100 B.C. and overcame them, but only to come into immediate collision on the frontiers of Kummukh with other tribes of the same race (the Muski, and further off the Kaski and Tabal)—not yet settled, but in the process of migration. Victory remained with the Assyrian king, who probably forced back the Muski behind the Halys, where they afterwards settled. King Midas of Phrygia figures in Assyrian inscriptions of about 700 B.C. as "Mita of Muski," so that the name of the earlier kingdom was used as the ancient historic designation of a new Indo-Germanic power

coinciding with it in area.—The Tabal settled in Cappadocia; the Kaski further north in Lesser Armenia: the Kumani made their homes among the mountains of Melitene and gave their name to Komana.

Another branch of the Hittite stock are the Khilakku, the heirs of the Lukki, whom the Assyrians encountered in Cappadocia. Their name, however, has been inherited only by Cilicia, to the south of the Taurus.

For centuries the relations with Assyria of all the tribes named were perpetually fluctuating. If the Assyrian armies were at a distance, or if Assyria chanced to be harassed by foreign or domestic complications, the Hittites revolted, that is, they refused to pay tribute. As soon as the imperial forces reappeared upon the scene they at once paid tribute and acknowledged the supremacy of their powerful neighbour. Weary of the ceaseless unrest the Assyrians at last incorporated the domain of some of these tribes as provinces of their own empire: Karkhemish 717 B.C. (see above); Tabal, Khilaku and Kue with Tarsus as capital (*i.e.*, Cappadocia and Cilicia) under Sargon (722–705 B.C.); and Kammanu (with Komana) as the province of Tulgarimmu in 712 B.C.

The last traces of Hittite political organisation must probably be sought in the Lydian and the Cilician kingdoms. Soon after 700 the Indo-

Germanic kingdom of Midas the Phrygian fell before the onslaught of the Cimmerian immigrants. Gyges the Lydian, perhaps a vassal of Midas, profited by the confusion to found on the ruins of the Phrygian a Lydian empire, which in all probability was Hittite. To the east, however, in Cappadocia and Cilicia, during the later period of the Assyrian empire, there was slowly being developed the power of Khilakku (*i.e.*, Cilicia, but extending much further north than the later province). Soon after the fall of Nineve (606 B.C.) this state appeared under Syennesis side by side with Lydia, Media and Babylonia as the fourth great power of the East, and in 585 B.C. it united with Nebuchadnezzar in promoting peace between Alyattes of Lydia and Kyaxares of Media. The names of the kings indicate that Khilakku also was a Hittite empire. The invasion of Asia Minor by the Persians under Cyrus destroyed both Khilakku and the Lydian empire and with them the last of the greater Hittite states.

Having traced the development of the Hittite states in the west, we must now consider the history of those lying further east, in Armenia. Salmanassar I. (about 1275 B.C.) and Tiglath Pileser I. (about 1100 B.C.) encountered many different tribes in the mountains of Armenia, west and south of Lake Van. The presence among them of the Kummukh combines with the manifest

affinities in the formation of their proper names to indicate that these tribes were most probably of Hittite race. At the outset we find here only a succession of isolated clans; but about 850, in consequence most likely of fresh immigration, a great kingdom was founded round Lake Van, which for two centuries was a dangerous rival of Assyria. Urartu was its Assyrian name, but in the native inscriptions it is known as Biaina. Its centre of gravity was the city of Thuspa (the modern Van) on the eastern shore of Lake Van. At the period of its greatest influence it extended from the Araxes to Melitene, Syria, and south-east to Lake Urumiah. Its power was broken by Sargon, and finally destroyed by the immigration of the Indo-Germanic peoples in the seventh century.

Our knowledge of the civilisation of the Hittites is, if possible, even slighter than our knowledge of their history, comprehensive and careful excavation being absolutely essential to this branch of research. Exhaustive work of the kind necessary has been undertaken only at Zenjirli in north Syria, a few days' journey inland from the Gulf of Iskanderun, under the auspices of the German Oriental Committee. In Karkhemish (Jerabis) on the Euphrates, partial excavations have been set on foot by the English; in Boghazköi and Üyuk in Cappa-

docia by the French; and in Armenia, on the eastern shore of Lake Van, English and Germans have united in the work with the natives of the country. Any other known monuments of Hittite civilisation have been found either on or immediately beneath the surface of the earth, or are carved on the faces of rocks in Asia Minor. Special mention must be made of two finds in the ruins of Babylon—a stone vessel and a statue of the Hittite storm god—the latter one of the results of the German excavations. Researches in the ruins of Nineve have brought to light eight small pieces of clay stamped with Hittite characters, and once used no doubt as seals for the documents or objects to which they had been attached by cords. All these relics are alike remarkable for the fact that they were discovered at a distance from the settled homes of the Hittites, and must therefore have been carried so far by intercourse of the nations either in peace or in war.

The area in which monuments have been discovered includes Asia Minor as far as Smyrna, north Syria and Armenia; but the remains are most numerous round the Gulf of Iskanderun, in Cappadocia, Cilicia and north Syria. We have now accessible to us a fair and continually increasing number of monuments from all these regions, but they are for the most part, as has been said, chance discoveries on the surface, and we

cannot yet interpret the inscriptions they bear. It is therefore impossible to assign the monuments, with the exception of the Armenian discoveries, to the separate tribes known to us in history, or to arrange them in chronological relation so as to obtain an idea of the evolution of Hittite art and culture. It would also be rash to attribute the undeniable connection with Egyptian and Assyrian artistic remains to systematic imitation on the part of the Hittites, and indeed any attempt at an account of their civilisation must for a long time to come be limited to a mere statement of facts.

The Hittite * script (*see* Fig. 1) is hieroglyphic, and consists of representations of parts of human beings and animals, such as heads, hands, feet, paws ; entire animals, such as hares and birds, and further, a great variety of inanimate objects of which only a few, among them the sword, have been identified. In the inscriptions which are probably the most ancient the signs are executed in detail, while those assigned to a later date show a tendency to simpler and more flowing forms in mere outline. Another difference must be noticed in this connection—the signs on the more ancient inscriptions (the existence of exceptions has not yet

* To guard against errors let it be carefully noted that except in cases where the restricted significance is expressly indicated, the word "Hittite" means the whole race and not the single tribe.

been demonstrated) are carved in relief, those of a later date are incised. A particular characteristic of the writing enables us to group the inscriptions as earlier or later, although we cannot yet obtain confirmation of this grouping by reading the con-

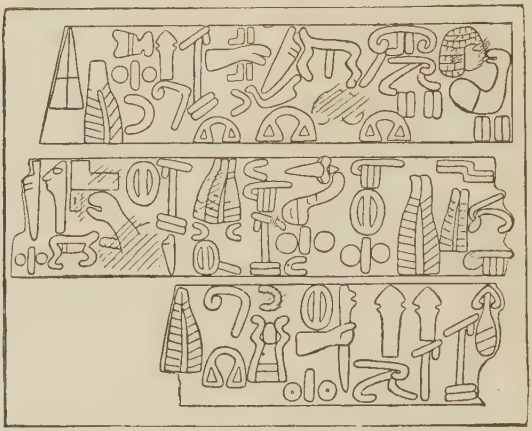

FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION ON STONE WITH SIGNS HEWN IN RELIEF.
Found at Hamath in Syria.

tents. Close inspection will show that the signs, especially the faces, turn in alternate directions. In the first line of the inscription given in Fig. 1, the face looks to the right, in the second line to the left. By the analogy of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and from unmistakable indications in the Hittite inscriptions themselves, the writing must always be

read *towards the faces ;* the first line from right to left, the second from left to right, and the third from right to left again. The inscription given here occupies only two-thirds of the third line, and the fact that the blank space is on the left shows that we have arranged it correctly. Within the lines there are often several signs one above the other, which must be read downwards. The inscriptions regarded from the form of the signs as the more ancient begin above on the right (the few exceptions that exist to this rule are no doubt due to special circumstances), and the signs are kept strictly in the correct direction. Many, on the other hand, in which the more cursive form of the signs indicates a later date, begin above on the left, and it may also be observed that some of the signs are not turned in the direction required by the run of the lines. Such inaccuracies are probably the result of want of practice in hieroglyphic writing caused by the use in daily life (as in Babylonia and Assyria) of a simpler alphabetic system, possibly in this case the Aramaic. The later these indications show an inscription to be, the more frequently do we observe definite marks of punctuation used to separate individual words. The Hittite must have found such signs necessary to facilitate the laborious task of reading, just as the Egyptian student of cuneiform drew red lines between the words on the clay tablet from which he studied. ("Ancient East," II. p. 12.)

At the present time about thirty-four inscriptions of some length are known, to which must be added a considerable number of fragments, and of short inscriptions on seals and the like. Moreover, scarcely a year passes without adding to the number of these discoveries, so that the general curiosity as to their contents is naturally becoming keener. But all attempts to decipher them since the inscriptions first attracted attention in 1870 have been in vain. This arises in the first place from the meagreness and obscurity of the information regarding the Hittites to be obtained from their neighbours or successors, and in the second place from the intricacy of their system of writing. The latter is roughly estimated to include over two hundred characters, and this number increases with every new inscription brought to light. As far as can be gathered from the inscriptions themselves and from other systems of writing used in Western Asia, a single character may represent a whole word —which is sometimes to be pronounced as it stands, and sometimes is used only to indicate the category of ideas * to which the word preceding

* Of this nature is the sign for God—an oval containing a transverse line – the only sign as yet interpreted with any certainty, and the pronunciation of which is still unknown. It indicates that the signs following it form the name of a god. The first sign in Fig. 1—a head with arm and hand pointing towards the face—stands at the beginning of many inscriptions and probably denotes: "I am," or "Thus saith (such an one)." Here also the pronunciation is unknown.

or following it belongs; other characters may stand for a syllable, and others again perhaps for a single sound. The whole system is rendered extremely intricate by this complexity of the functions of the signs, as the same word may be written in many different ways. In the case of the analogous systems of the Egyptians and Assyrians, the decipherer's task was simplified by the existence of inscriptions the wording of which was identical, though repeated in several different characters and languages — one of them either known, or at least more easily unriddled. For the Hittite script it is true that we have a similar source of information, naturally much discussed, in the bilingual inscription of "Tarkudimme" (Fig. 2), but it is unfortunately too short and too full of difficulties in itself to be of much practical use. The object in question is a hollow hemisphere of silver once forming the boss of a dagger handle, and intended to be used as a seal. The figure and characters are engraved on the convex surface. Round it runs a cuneiform inscription signifying: "Tarkudimme,

FIG. 2.—INSCRIPTION OF TARKUDIMME.

king of the land of Erme (? or Me ?)." Within this a Hittite inscription is twice written on the right and left of the figure of the king. The task of distributing the words of the cuneiform among these six Hittite characters is attended with so many difficulties that it must be supposed that the Hittite inscription contains only a portion of the other, or possibly even something entirely different.

From this Hittite system of hieroglyphs are derived many of the partly alphabetic systems found at a later date in Asia Minor, among them the Cypriote. This is a syllabic system; *i.e.*, almost every sign stands for a syllable (consonant + vowel). Many Greek inscriptions are written in this character, and the use of such a complicated system side by side with the Greek testifies to the great preponderance of the pre-Hellenic civilisation in Cyprus. The Lycian, Carian, Pamphylian, and other scripts of Asia Minor are at least partly of Hittite origin.

Though the hieroglyphic inscriptions are still unintelligible, we possess a few specimens of Hittite languages in Babylonian writing. The Tell el Amarna tablets ("Ancient East," II.) include two or three letters from King Tushratta of Mitani (northern Mesopotamia) and King Tarkhundaraba of Arsapi in a Hittite language, but in cuneiform script. At Boghazköi in Cappadocia clay tablets have been found inscribed in what is evidently a

kindred tongue. But in Armenia the most extensive remains have been discovered. Many rock inscriptions of historical and religious purport have been found there in which again the language of the ancient Hittite population is written in cuneiform. They are commonly called the Van inscriptions, from Van where the tribe had their capital, and of this, as well as of the certainly related language of Mitani, a little is already known, so that these documents can be partly translated. Our knowledge is not yet sufficient to give us a clear idea of the structure of the language, or to enable us to determine with certainty its relation to others, but it seems to exhibit points of affinity with the dialects of the Caucasus, especially the Georgian.

The appearance of the Hittites according to the testimony of their own monuments must have been extremely peculiar, even after all possible allowance has been made for want of skill on the part of the artists. Anthropological investigations, especially skull measurements among the modern inhabitants of Asia Minor where traces of more ancient peoples are still evident, have made it probable that the Hittites, the modern Armenians, and a section of the Jews belong to one and the same race. Their distinctive traits are very short heads (brachycephalic), dark eyes, dark hair, and long, aquiline noses. This last is the most striking characteristic of the monuments (*see* Fig. 3). The Egyptian monu-

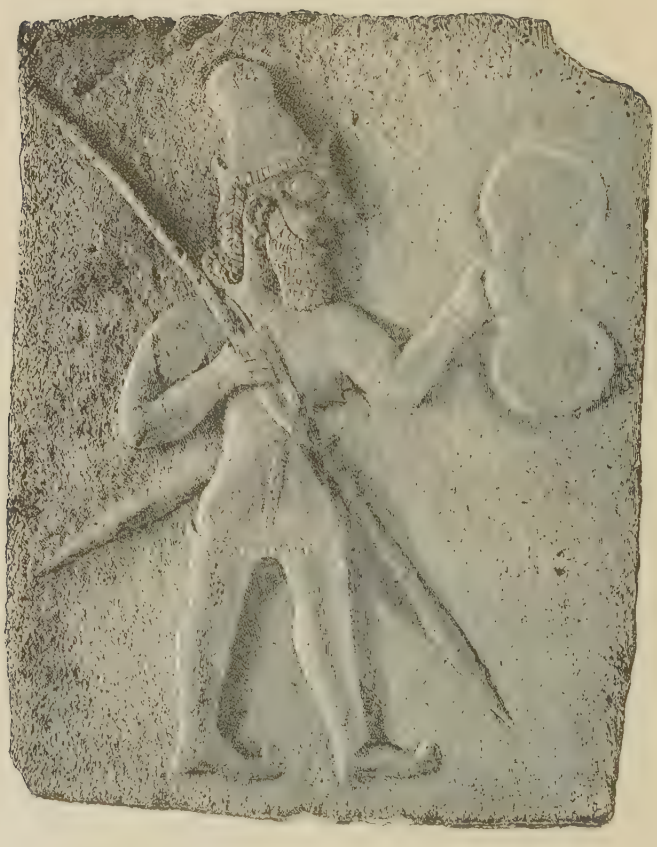

FIG. 3.—HITTITE WARRIOR, FROM THE CASTLE GATEWAY IN ZENJIRLI (*cf.* p. 47).
Found in 1888.

ments represent the Hittites with longish, slightly curved noses, sharply retreating foreheads, projecting cheek-bones, short, round, beardless chins, and fair complexions. The hair is long and thick, and falls in two locks over the shoulders. On the Hittite monuments only one plaited lock is visible, while many of the men wear long beards. The hair of the women is arranged like that of the men.

Male attire consists for the most part of a garment fastened at the neck, and having short sleeves reaching half way to the elbow. It descends to a little above the knee, where it is often finished by a border of fringe (Fig. 6) or a thick edging (Fig. 3). Round the loins it is secured by a broad girdle below which is shown a seam running obliquely down to the hem. The covering of the legs cannot be clearly distinguished on the reliefs. Instead of the short tunic we occasionally find a long robe reaching to the feet, likewise with short sleeves, fastened at the neck and girded round the loins. From this dress must be distinguished a long mantle worn over the short tunic described above, but, as it appears, only by persons of importance, such as priests and kings (Fig. 2). The representations lead us to suppose that this particular article of dress was made of some skilfully wrought textile fabric. In figures of women the long, short-sleeved dress is sometimes completed by a loose flowing garment that can hardly be anything but

a veil (*cf.* Figs. 4 and 5). This is fastened in some way to the headdress and falls down to the feet, covering the whole of the back.

FIG. 4.—HITTITE REPRESENTATION OF A MEAL.
Relief from the gate sculptures of Zenjirli (*cf.* p. 47).

A conical hat, probably of felt or leather, and having a turned-up brim, is the usual headdress of the men. It is sometimes adorned, in a manner not yet quite clear, with vertical stripes to which ring-shaped ornaments are often added (Fig. 8).

A variety of this cone-shaped headdress is finished with a kind of ball instead of a peak (Fig. 3). Very singular is the headdress of the women ; it is

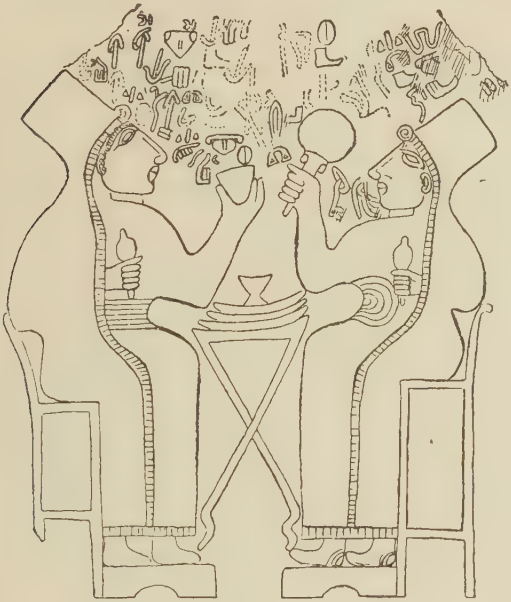

FIG. 5.—A MEAL.
Tomb monument found in Marash, North Syria

cylindrical in shape (Fig. 5) and has usually an upturned brim without ornament ; in the reliefs at Boghazköi (Fig. 7) it is shown with perpendicular stripes and indented at the top, but without a brim. In this we have evidently the prototype of

what is known as the " mural crown," seen in later representations of the goddess Cybele. A round, close-fitting cap is common to both sexes. This also is sometimes adorned with perpendicular flutings, horizontal lines of rosettes, or little rosette-like ornaments in front, which perhaps consisted of precious stones. It is a surprise to find occasionally as male head gear a tasselled cap exactly like the modern Turkish fez.

The Hittite foot-gear was a shoe turned up at the toe, such as is worn by the inhabitants of many mountainous countries, the curved point acting as a better protection to the toes than the ordinary shoe. Some figures wear sandals consisting of a flat piece of leather fastened to the foot with straps and having a raised piece added to protect the heel.

But little can be gathered from the monuments respecting the ornaments worn by the Hittites. Bangles adorned the wrists and sometimes also the ankles, and it can be perceived that the men often wore earrings. One woman is represented with a chain on her neck, and an almost invariable adjunct to any representation of a woman is a mirror (Fig. 5) which she holds in one hand while the other is occupied by some article pertinent to the scene, or by an object that may be either a pomegranate or a spindle. Men carry a long staff as a sign of rank, and the badge of great dignitaries,

such as priests and kings, is a rod spiral at the lower end (Fig. 8).

The Hittite army consisted of infantry and chariot warriors, though the treaty with Egypt (*see* pp. 14–19) indicates the existence of cavalry also, and equestrians do occasionally figure in the reliefs. The infantry wore short tunics, pointed caps, and boots. Bows and arrows were the principal weapons, but there were used also long lances (Fig. 3), clubs, double-headed axes, single and double-edged swords and sickle-shaped swords. The last had a short straight handle to which the sickle-like blade was fixed. The hilt of the ordinary sword is always shown as terminated by a hemispherical knob (Fig. 3). It usually hung on the girdle, sometimes on a belt worn over the shoulder, and it is noticeable that it was occasionally suspended with the point turned outwards. No helmet has been observed on the native monuments, but in Egyptian representations Hittite dignitaries and chariot warriors wear a low, round helmet with a crest of hair. The shield was either square or resembled the so-called Amazonian shield of Pontus, which was shaped something like the figure **8** (Fig. 3). The war chariot may be described as a low chest, open behind, resting on two wheels and drawn by a pair of horses; two quivers were fastened to the sides, and the lance was placed at the back of the carriage. As it was

unlike their own custom, Egyptian artists emphasise the fact that on each chariot there were three men—the charioteer, the shield-bearer and the archer. The Hittite representations do not show the figure of the shield-bearer, but that is because those known to us are not battle-pieces but hunting-scenes.

The same chariot was used on the battlefield and in the chase. Among the animals hunted we find representations of the lion and the hare, the former being chased by dogs. On one of the slabs at Zenjirli (see p. 48) is the figure of a hunting deity with a human body and a lion's head. In one hand he holds a hare, and in the other a wooden javelin. On his shoulder is perched what is evidently a falcon—a bird trained to bring down game in very ancient times.

This strange divinity, with its mixture of the human and the animal elements, leads naturally to the consideration of Hittite religion. Here also we have to lament the scantiness and obscurity of tradition and our inability to interpret the inscriptions, in consequence of which only isolated details can be ascertained. It cannot yet be decided in which particular tribes the names of the deities originated which Greek tradition has ascribed to Asia Minor, or even if these names have been handed down in their actual ancient forms. The statements of the cuneiform inscriptions, though

more trustworthy, are inadequate. Something may be learned from the forms of personal names, so often in the East compounded with the names of gods, while the statues and carvings throw a certain amount of light on the nature of the divinities represented.

Everywhere in Asia Minor and north Syria tradition has placed in the foreground the cult of a goddess, sometimes known as the "great mother." In Komana in Cappadocia she was worshipped under the name Ma. She wore the so-called mural crown and was served by innumerable priests and warlike priestesses, the latter being possibly the prototype of the Amazons. The former, eunuchs known as Galli, played a peculiar part in the ritual of Asia Minor. The feast of the goddess, at which great multitudes of people assembled, was celebrated with war-dances to the accompaniment of frenzied songs and intoxicating music, which wrought the priests to an ecstasy in which they mutilated themselves. This is related, at least, of the cult of the great goddess of Hierapolis-Bambyke in north Syria, and she is probably the same deity as Ma, though there known as Semiramis. Her sacred emblem is the dove. She comes into relationship with the man-hating Istar in the legend that she killed all her lovers, and her concealment of her sex points to the bearded Venus of classical antiquity. In connection with her are

mentioned Dionysus and another deity not definitely named, but who probably corresponds to Adonis-Tammuz her lover, as for him also a funeral pile was erected and a dirge intoned every year. The names Herakles or Sandon, and Omphale have been handed down in Lydia for the deities of the sun and moon ; in Cilicia Sandon is the traditional name of the former and the chief function of the cult was said to be the erection of a funeral pile. The " great mother " is also known, especially in Phrygia, as Cybele. Like Ma she wears the mural crown, and her worship is connected with that of the god Attis, her lover, who corresponds to Adonis-Tammuz. Rhea, another manifestation of the " great mother," was served by the Daktyli, divinities regarded as the inventors of the art of working in metal. Another traditional name of the moon-god as worshipped in Asia Minor was Men.

From the cuneiform inscriptions and from proper names it may be gathered that the western Hittites paid supreme honour to a god named Tarku, while their eastern kinsmen placed the storm-god Teshup at the head of their pantheon. Both names, especially the latter, occur somewhat frequently, and the north Syrian conception of Teshup may be gathered from the illustration (Fig. 6). He is represented as a warrior, holding in one hand three flashes of lightning, and

brandishing in the other a hammer, the symbol of fertility (*cf.* Thor with his hammer Miölnir). A god Sanda appears to have been worshipped among others in Cilicia; in Mitani the goddess Shaushkas, corresponding to the Babylonian Istar, was honoured side by side with Teshup, and perhaps also a god Shimigi. The so-called Van inscriptions (*see* p. 31) give us a large number of divine names, but we have as yet no information regarding the nature of most of these deities. The tribe of the Van inscriptions had probably adopted the god Teshup from an earlier tribe of kindred race, for though the name occurs frequently in the inscriptions, the highest place is occupied by the god Khaldis, whose name has hardly been transferred to a single inscrip-

FIG. 6.—STATUE OF THE STORM-GOD TESHUP.
Found in Babylon in 1899 in the course of the excavations of the German Oriental Association.

tion. A triad of gods often appears as the most important, the sun god Ardis being added to Khaldis and the storm god Teshup, or Teishebas—as this particular dialect renders his name. A moon god Shelardis is but seldom mentioned. The inscriptions contain elaborate details regarding the offerings to be made to the gods on various occasions; but unfortunately they are as yet by no means fully intelligible.

In Boghazköi (probably the ancient Pteria) in Cappadocia, the most important of a series of monuments representing religious scenes has been discovered. The natural rock at one spot has roughly the form of a roofless rectangular chamber, one of the short sides, entirely open, forming the entrance. The rock walls fall down sheer on the inner side, and on them is graved a great religious procession of about seventy persons. Entering the chamber one faces the principal group (Fig. 7)—the central point of the whole. Coming towards this on the left side-wall is a line consisting almost entirely of male figures one behind the other, and on the corresponding wall on the right a procession of female figures is likewise moving towards the central group. These central figures must no doubt be regarded as gods, for they are represented some standing on mountains, some on human beings, and some on animals. The god heading the procession of the men is a warrior

FIG. 7.—RELIGIOUS PROCESSION.[1]
From a rock wall near Boghazköi.

supported on the heads of two figures, probably priests. He is accompanied by an animal wearing a pointed tiara, and is holding out his hand to a goddess who is advancing towards him standing on a panther. She wears the mural crown, and is likewise accompanied by an animal with a pointed tiara. Behind her stands a god on a panther, the only man in the procession of women. Many and various explanations have been given of the whole, and of these the most probable is that which interprets it as a representation of the myth of the spring, though even this does not afford a satisfactory solution of all the difficulties. The male procession on the left is closed by twelve figures exactly alike, bearing sickle-shaped swords, and seeming to move in a kind of sling trot. This is perhaps a representation of the war-dance performed by the priests at the feasts of Ma. Above and in front of many of the figures are groups of hieroglyphic signs, which establish the Hittite origin of the sculptures and doubtless contain the names of the gods.

A relief on the face of a rock quite near to the group just described merits special notice (Fig. 8). It is as yet absolutely unique, and is of unusual value from the fact that a short description of its subject existed even in antiquity. On the conclusion of the Hittite and Egyptian treaty (*see* pp. 14 19) follows a description of the seal used

on the original silver tablet. It begins: "On the front (of the tablet): An image of Sutekh embracing the great prince of Kheta" Our relief shows us a god represented as a warrior of heroic size embracing a Hittite prince or priest—evidently a subject similar to that on the seal. The name of the god is unknown, Sutekh being merely a name of the Egyptian god of war transferred to the description by the Egyptian scribe. This correspondence between the relief and the description of the seal is important, as it may probably help us to settle approximately the date of the Boghazköi sculptures. Some investigators have placed them so late as 700 B.C., but it seems reasonable to suppose that the only two instances as yet discovered of a very singular representation may possibly belong to the same epoch, and they may thus perhaps be assigned to about the

FIG. 8.—DEITY EMBRACING A KING OR PRIEST.
From a rock wall near Boghazköi.

thirteenth century, the time of the Hittite treaty.

A sacrificial scene is engraved on a rock at Fraktin to the south of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. On the left stands a god in the dress of a warrior holding a curved stick over his shoulder. Before him is an altar consisting of a thick slab laid horizontally on a pillar somewhat diminishing towards the top. A man, perhaps a priest, dressed as a warrior, faces the god and is pouring out a libation from a vessel in his right hand. Hard by on the right a similar scene is represented, but in this case it is a goddess that sits by the altar while the libation is poured out by a priestess in a flowing garment. In this group a bird is perched on the altar. This is worthy of special note, as in Hittite sculpture a frequently recurring type is the sitting figure of a goddess holding a flower or a mirror in her hand, and often with a bird on the altar or table before her. The bird is probably the sacred dove of Semiramis, or, as she may also be called, Ma of Komana, etc. Near Ivriz, in a beautiful and fertile neighbourhood on the frontier of Cilicia and Cappadocia, a rock monument shows us a king or priest worshipping the god of fertility. The deity holds as symbols in one hand a vine spray with many grapes, and in the other a stalk of corn from which flows a stream of water.

Fantastic monsters, such as sphinxes and griffins,

are a characteristic feature of Hittite religious representations. The sphinxes have lion-like bodies with human heads and are usually winged. One remarkable relief shows a sphinx with a lion's head in the natural position, and a human head set upright on the neck. The griffin has usually a human body but the head and wings of a vulture.

The examples of Hittite architecture as yet lie for the most part underground. The plan of one ancient city, however, has been laid bare in the course of the extensive excavations at Zenjirli, in north Syria. A double rampart, almost circular and defended by towers, surrounded the city, and on an elevation within this great circle stood the stronghold. This was enclosed by a second wall, likewise provided with projecting towers, and having on the south side a great gateway constructed on a peculiar plan. The thickness of the castle wall was considerably increased at the entrance, and instead of a single opening two gateways were made directly opposite each other on the inner and on the outer side of the wall. Between these two doors, and to the right and left, the interior of the wall was not entirely filled up, and thus a large quadrangular court was left free. To the right and left of the first entrance, at a little distance from it, were two massive towers. Owing to the nature of the building material used

all the walls were of necessity several metres thick. The lower parts were of unhewn blocks of stone, to resist the damp, the upper parts of unbaked brick. Babylonian influence led to the universal use of clay as a building material in the Ancient East. The inner walls of the entrances and of the rooms of the palace were lined to about the height of a metre and a half with stone slabs adorned with reliefs. The ground-plan of the building in its simplest form was a rectangle surrounded by massive walls and containing various apartments. To the right and left in front were two towers level with the line of the building, and between them was an open pillared hall, reached by a flight of steps. The pillars were probably of wood, as no trace remains of them but the stone pedestals, which have the form of sphinxes, single and in pairs.

In Cappadocia near the village of Üyuk a gateway has been discovered similar to that at Zenjirli. Some of the large stone slabs used for lining the wall and adorned with sacrificial scenes are still standing, as well as the massive sphinxes that flanked the entrance. At Boghazköi, a place already frequently mentioned, are the remains of a very extensive ancient city. On the north side may still be distinguished the foundation walls of a great quadrangular palace containing many apartments. The walls, still standing to the height

of about a metre, consist as in Zenjirli of rough unhewn blocks, and it may be concluded that here also the upper parts of the walls were of unbaked

FIG. 9.—DEITY WEARING A HORNED HEADDRESS.
Found in Jerabis.

bricks. The excavations in Jerabis on the Euphrates, on the site of the ancient Karkhemish, have brought to light stone slabs bearing reliefs

that so far represent the high-water mark of Hittite achievement in sculpture (*see* Fig. 9).

The specimens of Hittite sculpture are, as far as we can ascertain, for the most part of a religious character and many of them have already been mentioned. One of the most remarkable among them is a rock-cut figure at Boghazköi. The head is human and is surmounted by a pointed tiara, but the rest of the body is formed by a combination of four lions. Of the two which form the breast only the front parts are visible, and the heads, turned outwards on the right and left, have from the distance the appearance of the stumps of arms. The others, shown in full, hang their heads downwards and turn their backs outwards right and left. These represent the body of the figure, which has instead of legs straight lines converging at the base. The double eagle which occurs so frequently (*e.g.*, Fig. 7) is remarkable not only as another example of the creation of fantastic monsters from the bodies of animals, but also as constituting a link between Hittite antiquity and modern times. It is the direct ancestor of the Austrian double eagle which, after being adopted in the East by the Seljuk Sultans (1217), appeared in Europe in 1345 in the escutcheon of the German Emperors.

The principal sculptures not dealing directly with religious subjects are found on tombstones.

To this class belongs Fig. 5, and perhaps also Fig. 4. The stone slabs are about the height of a man and are usually finished by a stone edge fitting into a groove by which the slab is kept upright. The deceased is always represented on the face of the slab, either alone, or sitting with another at a meal. Between the two figures stands a table with crossed legs bearing food and drink. Two women are represented in Fig. 5, each holding in one hand a pomegranate (or spindle ?) while with the other hand one of them holds a mirror and the second is raising a drinking-cup to her lips. We possess further the lower parts of two human statues bearing inscriptions. The execution is extremely stiff and shows only feeble attempts to represent the folds of drapery. The favourite animal subject seems to have been the lion, and some examples have been found sculptured like the lions and bulls of the Assyrian gateways, partly in full figure and partly in relief. The head and breast rise free from the stone slab, but the trunk and legs are carved in relief only. In these cases the lion was intended to adorn a gateway, and therefore it was necessary that part of its body should be fitted into the wall.

On the whole, Hittite sculpture as far as it is known must be described as rough, immature and stiff, though various attempts to give life to the figures and other signs of progress must not be

entirely ignored. The inscriptions, owing to our inability to read them, can as yet throw no light on the dates of the sculptures they accompany, and give no aid in the construction of any theory of the evolution of Hittite art. The circumstances that influence civilised life are so complex that any hypothesis based on purely æsthetic grounds may easily lead us astray. Two pieces of sculpture, one very crude and the other suggesting a higher stage of artistic development, may well, if found in two different localities, belong to the same period. The first, perhaps, adorned the palace of some petty chieftain, whose means did not enable him to attract to his capital the greatest artists of his day; the second, on the other hand, may have belonged to some rich and powerful contemporary prince with all the resources of the age at his command. A chronological arrangement is to some extent justified when products on different levels of æsthetic development are, as is the case at Zenjirli, discovered in the same spot. There the sculptures found near the south gateway of the city wall are certainly more ancient than those of the south gateway of the wall encircling the fortress. The material, however, is too scanty to exhibit in detail the process of development.

Most of the sculptures are executed in low relief. The roughest consist of a simple outline within which muscles, folds of drapery and other

details are indicated by clumsily cut lines, so that the legs and wings of the creature represented appear to be connected with the body from the outside. This peculiar kind of drawing shows that the starting-point for stone sculpture among the Hittites must have been metal work, for in that art the main outlines of the figures are indicated by lines made by beating out the metal from the reverse side of the slab, while lines beaten back again from the front indicate the muscles and other details. The script also bears testimony to this origin of Hittite art. The oldest inscriptions are hewn in relief, although in stone this process must have been much more laborious than the engraving of incised characters.

Entire want of proportion is another trait of this primitive sculpture. In relation to the upper part of the human body the lower is generally very small, or the arms are thin and short. The bodies of animals are sometimes represented of immoderate length and are at other times much shortened. From these defects the better pieces of sculpture are comparatively free, but almost entire want of perspective is common to all. Only the immediate front view is given of objects having depth. In Figs. 4 and 5, for example, the table and chairs have apparently only two legs each, and the surface of the table is represented by a line. Instead of concealing each other wholly or in part,

the toes of the human foot and the claws of the lion are often represented lying one above the other. A relief in Üyuk shows a front view of a ladder together with a profile of a person climbing it, so that the figure seems to be ascending the ladder by the side beam. The artist showed his respect for the principles of perspective in this and in other sculptures by shortening figures supposed to be in the background, but without regarding the proportions in breadth and in relation to other figures. Thus in a relief at Marash a warrior appears much larger than the horse he is leading by the bridle. When several series of figures are required behind each other, as in the Marash relief, they are placed one above the other, as the artist conceived each group separately but was not capable of grasping and combining them in a homogeneous picture.

The pose of the figures is for the most part conventional. They are usually represented stepping forward with one foot advanced. One arm is extended, the hand holding a staff, a cup or an ornament of some kind; the other is turned at a right angle and laid across the breast. Hardly any attempt to individualise can be observed.

The sculptures consist as a rule of single figures only, and even when a larger group is attempted the lifeless monotony is unbroken by any union of individual figures in a common action. Gene-

rally speaking, each figure appears so entirely unaffected by the presence or action of the others that we should not perceive a gap if it were omitted. Battle groups are so far entirely wanting, but one of the best specimens of this class of Hittite art represents a lion hunt, the scene being accompanied by an inscription. A charioteer is standing on a war-chariot drawn by two horses (though only one horse is actually shown), and by his side is an archer in the act of discharging an arrow at a lion which they are passing. The creature has already been struck, and infuriated by the wound is turning round on its hind paws towards its assailant with its forepaws high in the air and evidently roaring loudly. Below the horse a dog is represented at a rapid run.

With regard to the technical arts the Hittites appear to have been remarkably skilful in metal-work. The mountains between Cilicia and Cappadocia are rich in silver, and mines have been discovered there which must have been worked in very ancient times. Silver articles, such as the sword knob of Tarkudimme (Fig. 1) are among the few remains of Hittite industry that we possess, and in one which displays artistic execution the separate parts are soldered together with silver. It must also be noted that in the copy of the Hittite and Egyptian treaty (pp. 14-19) the Hittite original is said to have been written on a silver tablet.

Excavations in the soil of the kingdom of Van (p. 24) have been particularly rich in results in bronze work. Thence we have votive shields adorned with concentric rings of moving lions and bulls in beaten work, bracelets, clasps, fragments of thrones of artistic design, and bronze statues. The statues and the figures of animals were plated with gold and inlaid with precious stones.

A mosaic pavement brought to light in Van is unique. It was composed of stones, black, white and red, in combination with bronze. A bronze rosette was surrounded by concentric rings of the coloured stones, while other figures were made up of the same materials but worked into rhomboidal forms.

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